

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BELGRA 00695 131629Z

73

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CU-04 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 SAM-01 NIC-01 SAJ-01 DRC-01 /111 W

----- 017412

R 131528Z FEB 74

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8491

INFO AMCONSUL ZAGREB

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, YO

SUBJECT: PARTY POLICY TOWARDS THE CREATIVE ARTS IN YUGOSLAVIA

REF: BELGRADE A-93; BELGRADE 0644

1. SUMMARY: YUGOSLAV PARTY IS PRESENTLY IN THE THROES OF AN INTENSE DEBATE OVER ITS PROPER ROLE IN EDUCATION, SCIENCE, CREATIVE ARTS. CAUGHT BETWEEN PRESSURES ON THE RIGHT AND LEFT WITHIN ITS OWN RANKS, LCY IS TRYING TO STEER COURSE BETWEEN WHAT IT PERCEIVES AS UNBRIDLED INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC FREEDOMS WHICH THREATEN THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM CREATED BY THE LCY AND THE EVER-PRESENT DANGER OF A RETURN TO SOVIET-STYLE PARTY CONTROLS. IT IS THE AGE-OLD GUT ISSUE OF INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM IN A COMMUNIST SOCIETY. WHILE CLEAR-CUT POLICY WILL LIKELY NOT BE RESOLVED UNTIL PARTY CONGRESSES MEET THIS SPRING, SOME TRENDS IN PARTY THINKING HAVE EMERGED FROM ON-GOING DEBATE: PARTY WILL INTERVENE IN CASES WHERE INTELLECTUAL OR ARTISTIC ACTIVITY TAKES ON CAST OF ORGANIZED POLITICAL OPPOSITION TO BASIC LCY POLICIES; AT SAME TIME, PARTY WILL RESIST ATTEMPTS BY CONSERVATIVE FACTIONS TO EXPLOIT OR ABUSE DISSENT ISSUE IN EFFORT TO INSTALL "IRON HAND" OF CENTRALIST-DOGMATIC REGIMENTATION IN YUGOSLAV SOCIETY.

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PAGE 02 BELGRA 00695 131629Z

DISSENTERS WHO GO TOO FAR WILL BE DENOUNCED AND IF NEC-

ESSARY REMOVED FROM THEIR JOBS, BUT WILL NOT BE OTHERWISE OSTRACIZED OR PERSECUTED. AS PARTY LEADERSHIP WELL UNDERSTANDS, DEGREE OF FREEDOM ALLOWED INTELLECTUALS AND CREATIVE ARTISTS IS SENSITIVE BAROMETER BY WHICH EVOLUTION OF YUGOSLAV BRAND OF SOCIALISM WILL LARGELY BE MEASURED BOTH ABROAD AND AT HOME. END SUMMARY.

2. SET AGAINST BACKGROUND OF CAMPAIGN AGAINST "LIBERALISM" TOUCHED OFF BY TITO LETTER TO ALL LCY MEMBERS IN OCTOBER 1972, PARTY CONCERN HAS BEEN INCREASINGLY FOCUSED ON ROLE OF INTELLECTUALS AND CREATIVE ARTISTS (SEE COMMENTARY ON "BLACK WAVE" IN REPAIR). CASE OF EIGHT BELGRADE PROFESSORS (BELGRADE 0644) AND GROWING APPREHENSION OVER POSSIBLE REPERCUSSION AMONG STUDENTS AT SEVERAL YUGOSLAV UNIVERSITIES HAS ADDED NEW IMPETUS TO PARTY CONCERNS. LCY POLICY TOWARDS EDUCATION, CULTURE AND ARTS WAS TAKEN UP AT MEETING LAST WEEK OF LCY PREPARATORY COMMISSION FOR TENTH CONGRESS AND HAS ALSO BEEN MAJOR SUBJECT OF DEBATE WITHIN SERBIAN CC. WHILE PRESS REPORTS HAVE BEEN MOSTLY CONFINED TO INDIRECT COMMENTARY, SOME TRENDS IN PARTY THINKING AT THIS STAGE HAVE EMERGED:

3. PARTY ATTITUDES TOWARDS INTELLECTUALS AND ARTISTS HAVE BEEN COMPLICATED BY AN OSCILLATION OF CULTURAL POLICY BETWEEN TWO EXTREMES, VARIOUSLY LABELED AS "BOURGEOIS AND BUREAUCRATIC" OR "LIBERAL AND DOGMATIC". AS BORBA SUMS UP IN RECENT ARTICLE: "AS SOON AS LC MEMBERS INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CONSERVATIVE BOURGEOIS CONCEPTS OF CULTURE, REFERENCE IS MADE TO THE DESPISED DOGMATISM. AS SOON AS THEY EMBARK ON A STRUGGLE AGAINST DOGMATIC DEVIATION, THEY ARE EXPOSED TO THE DANGER OF BEING LABELED AS LIBERALS". SEEKING THE MIDDLE GROUND, PARTY CONSENSUS AT THIS STAGE APPEARS TO LEAN TOWARDS SELECTIVE ENFORCEMENT OF OBLIGATIONS OF LC MEMBERS IN ARTS, SCIENCES, AND EDUCATION TO SUPPORT PARTY LINE, INCLUDING PERSONNEL CHANGES WHERE NECESSARY, IN ORDER FOR LC TO ACT AGAINST ANY INDIVIDUALS OR GROUPS IN INTELLIGENTSIA WHOSE ACTIVITY TAKES ON CAST OF POLITICAL OPPOSITION TO BASIC POSTULATES OF PARTY IDEOLOGY AND PROGRAMS. UNIVERSITIES AND PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS IN PARTICULAR WILL BE UNDER CLOSER PARTY SCRUTINY FOR POSSIBLE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 BELGRA 00695 131629Z

DEVIATIONS; SCIENTISTS, MUSICIANS, AND ARTISTS WILL LIKELY BE LESS AFFECTED, PROVIDED THEIR ACTIVITY DOES NOT TAKE ON FORM OF POLITICAL OPPOSITION. AT SAME TIME, LC LEADERSHIP WILL RESIST ANY ATTEMPT BY DOGMATIST FACTIONS TO EXPLOIT DISSENT ISSUE TO STAGE POLITICAL COMEBACK OR TO INSTITUTE

"IRON HAND" OF PARTY REPRESSION IN CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE.

4. INDICATIONS ARE THAT PARTY ACTIONS AGAINST INDIVIDUALS WILL NOT BE ALLOWED TO GET OUT OF HAND. EVEN THOSE WHO MAY BE REMOVED FROM JOBS WILL NOT BE OTHERWISE OSTRACIZED OR PERSECUTED. AS EXAMPLE, RESPECTED ACADEMICIAN DR.

MILAN BARTOS (FULL PROFESSOR AT BELGRADE LAW FACULTY AND LC MEMBER) POINTS OUT IN BORBA INTERVIEW THAT "THE FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCES OF BELGRADE, WHERE A MAJORITY OF PROFESSORS ARE MEMBERS OF THE LC, HAS TAKEN VIEW THAT LATINKA PEROVIC, AFTER REJECTION OF HER ACTIVITY IN THE LC, (I.E. OUSTER AS SERBIAN CC SECRETARY), HAS THE RIGHT TO DEVELOP FULL SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITY WITHIN THE LIMITS OF GENERALLY RECOGNIZED STANDARDS, AND HAS, IN PRINCIPLE, PERMITTED HER TO PREPARE A DOCTORAL DISSERTATION. IT THINK THAT THIS DIFFERENTIATION OF ACTIVITIES IS CORRECT".

5. COMMENT: NEW ELEMENT IN SITUATION IS RENEWED ANXIETY OF LC LEADERSHIP OVER POSSIBLE RESURGENCE OF WOULD-BE CENTRALISTS. IN PARTY, THIS CONCERN HAS LIKELY ARISEN BECAUSE OF INDIVIDUAL JOCKEYING FOR POLITICAL ADVANTAGE NOW GOING ON IN PERIOD LEADING UP TO LCY ELECTIONS AND REPUBLICAN AND FEDERAL PARTY CONGRESSES, BUT CONCERN ALSO UNDOUBTEDLY REFLECTS GENUINE DESIRE THAT RELATIVE FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND CREATIVITY ENJOYED UNDER YUGOSLAV BRAND OF INDEPENDENT SOCIALISM NOT BE ALLOWED TO GO BY THE BOARDS, WITH ALL CONSEQUENCES AT HOME AND FOR YUGOSLAV PRESTIGE ABROAD SUCH REPRESSION COULD BRING. EFFORTS TO CHIP AWAY AT UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM WILL CONTINUE. AS PARTY LEADERS WELL UNDERSTAND, HOWEVER, DEGREE OF FREEDOM ALLOWED INTELLECTUALS AND ARTISTS IS SENSITIVE BAROMETER BY WHICH EVOLUTION OF YUGOSLAV SYSTEM WILL LARGELY BE MEASURED. JOHNSON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ARTS, POLICIES, PARTY FACTIONS, PARTY DISSENSION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 13 FEB 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: morefirh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974BELGRA00695
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: BELGRADE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740237/aaaabihb.tel
Line Count: 146
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: BELGRADE A-93; BELGRADE 0644
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: morefirh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 21 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <21 MAY 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <06 JUN 2002 by morefirh>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PARTY POLICY TOWARDS THE CREATIVE ARTS IN YUGOSLAVIA
TAGS: PINT, YO
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005